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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

15 January 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR: SR/_CPP

SUBJECT : Comments on Ukrainian Broadcasting Policy Paper by
CASSOWARIE 2

1. General Program Scheme

It is the view of the undersigned that the general scheme is imaginative and apt. The program as he conceives it is Ukrainian, replete with national symbols and allusions. We especially like the idea of brief features dealing with the gnostic sayings of classical authors well-known in the Ukraine and assume that the writer intends to select phrases with political implications. Because of the fact of jamming, a scheme dividing the fifteen-minute program into brief and self-sufficient sections is sound. There would be no point in building the program around long involved themes the point of which would be obvious only at the end just as the jammer might be zeroing in. Brief and self-sufficient items would take advantage of gaps in the jamming and of fading of the jamming signals.

2. Name, Musical Signature and Slogan

a. The undersigned sees no reason why the name "New Ukraine" is not appropriate. It is submitted that we should take maximum advantage of the symbolic impact embodied in a voice which presumably speaks from the Ukraine and in the name and interest of the Ukrainian people themselves by identifying the station as frequently as possible, provided that it is consistent with jamming evasion techniques.

b. The Office of Communications advises that the beam from Athens because of "side-band clipping" is designed to carry a male voice within a limited symphonic range and cannot carry all sounds equally well. This was done in order to maximize the power of the signal and the distance over which it would carry. Because of the "side-band clipping," the musical passage will sound fuzzy. It is felt, however, that a musical signature should be included in the program as CASSOWARIE 2 suggests, provided that it can be transmitted in a low register around 500 cycles. A high-pitched musical signal carries a greater distance from the receiver than spoken words and could betray the listener.

The program would be more credible if the music were played over a single instrument like a bandore, which a member of the clandestine resistance could conceivably have in his possession. It should not be played by a full symphony orchestra.

SECRET

SECRET

- 2 -

c. It is an excellent idea to use a brief phrase from Shevchenko. Like the musical signature, it should also be given in a low register so that its sound will not be more penetrating than that of the main body of the program.

3. The Necessity for Varying the Presentation of the Program

If we use a name for the station, a musical signature and a slogan, and present the sections of the program in a regular and unvarying order, we simplify the problem facing the Soviet jamming monitor who must identify the station. The identifications should not appear at fixed intervals, and the program should not follow a regular pattern. We can begin with news one day and end with news another. The identification of the station can be made at the beginning, end, or at any time before and after specific items are presented or completed. We should also consider imitating Soviet stations on occasion by repeating or aping a recent Moscow or Kiev broadcast for a while before coming in with our prepared features, in efforts to confuse or distract the jamming monitors.

4. The Audience

The paper appears to have been written in the belief that the target is "the broadest masses in the Ukraine." In Part II CASSOWARIE 2 indicates that it is the purpose of the radio to enable the rank and file of workers and peasants to conclude that the Soviet regime is the "enemy of the people." In Part III he states that it is the purpose of the radio to prepare "the people" for the day of liberation. Further on, he asserts the necessity of appealing to the "ranks of the Soviet Army" and envisions in Part IV the necessity of separate appeals to the groups which are the mainstay of Soviet power.

It is necessary to face the fact that there are not many more than a million sets in the entire USSR which are capable of receiving foreign broadcasts, that they are expensive, and that they are for the most part in the hands of persons of relative importance and status in the hierarchies of the Party, military, government, and security police. It is known that some kolkhozy and many MTS's do possess powerful receivers with short-wave components, and it is recognized that the average soldier, worker, peasant or Party bureaucrat may have access to radios capable of receiving foreign broadcasts. It is established, however, that the vast majority of our potential listeners are members of the Soviet privileged classes who have a stake in the regime and upon whose reliability and efficiency the maintenance and stability of the Communist regime depends. There is then no point in orienting a program toward the rank and file of Soviet citizens, toward those who are most disaffected and most discontented.

SECRET

SECRET

- 3 -

In spite of CASSOWARIE 2's misconception regarding the audience, most of the form and substance of his suggested program is suitable for broadcasting to the Soviet elite groups. By presenting and stressing political, historical and cultural material demonstrating that there are free Ukrainian political traditions and a free Ukrainian ethic to which the listener can subscribe, we offer him a concrete alternative to loyalty to the Communist system and philosophy, and there is no better way of building and maintaining his self respect. The other topics and themes suggested by CASSOWARIE 2 are also suitable for the potential listening audience which for the most part is composed of highly educated individuals.

5. The Length of the Individual Features

CASSOWARIE 2 envisages a program which includes each day news, a "guiding thought," a dialogue, a main feature of no more than four typewritten pages, and one or more items concerned with literature, religion, historical symbols, brief news items and other subjects--all to be included in one fifteen-minute program. The feature will probably be no longer than one or one and a half typewritten pages double-spaced, and the number of items which will be included in any single broadcast will be fewer than he believes. This will be evident when the actual taping begins, and the problem will take care of itself.

6. "Mirror of Events"

The news portion should not necessarily restrict itself to the "two most interesting and important events occurring abroad and in the USSR." It should constitute at least a quarter of the time. The undersigned does not believe, however, that news should constitute a greater portion of the program. VOA, BBC, LIBERATION and other voices pour news into the Ukraine. This voice, it is submitted, should be distinctively Ukrainian, reflecting its identity and special interests.

7. "Guiding Thought for the Day"

It is suggested that this item be accepted as an integral part of the program, but that it should be tied to the news. After the news is given, the announcer could offer an appropriate slogan, proverb, or other short phrase aimed at evoking a particular reaction or sentiment regarding the news.

8. "Continual Dialogue"

This type of item has been used effectively on other stations.

SECRET

SECRET

- 4 -

9. The Main Feature

CASSOWARIE 2 has presented eight main subjects, including many sub-topics. For an official and formal policy paper their presentation is unsatisfactory, for they are not systematically developed and are repetitious. The language itself is poor: some sentences are declarative; some are self-justifications; some are not even sentences. The whole section requires complete revision. But this is a minor point, for the content is rich.

There is one serious omission. Nothing is said about the necessity of the programs attacking Soviet Marxism. It is necessary to recognize that Marxism is a secular religion presenting a complete and integrated pattern of ethics, politics, economics and sociology within an allegedly scientific framework and that its emotional impact upon individuals in the West as well as within the Bloc has been great. Perhaps the majority of the Soviet privileged classes recognize that official Marxism is substantially a means of justifying the maintenance and exercise of power and of justifying specific arbitrary policies, but there must be many individuals in the Soviet elite groups who ground themselves in the official ideology.

It is suggested that the portions devoted to religion could be charged with political content. We could, for example, broadcast portions from the writings of Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant publicists who dealt with the necessity of resisting tyranny on religious grounds, who outlined criteria for the just state.

10. Questionable Items

a. In Part III it is stated that the station ought to publicize the Charter of the United Nations, explain the rights of the Ukraine as a member of the United Nations, and expose how the Soviet Government has deprived the Ukraine of its rights as a member of the organization. It is questionable whether it is desirable to mention the United Nations at all. According to the Charter the USSR is a legitimate member of the international community, enjoying a preferential position in the community of nations by its occupancy of a permanent seat on the Security Council, and a "peace-loving" state. The Charter makes it legally incumbent upon all subscribing states to defend the existence and integrity of all members.

b. It may be stated to the contrary that by mentioning the fact of Ukrainian representation in the United Nations we emphasize the fact that the world community recognizes the existence of a Ukrainian nation, and it is true that the Charter emphasizes the principles of national self-determination. In Part III it is also stated that the radio should combat Soviet lies about the free world, particularly

SECRET

SECRET

- 5 -

America. It is submitted that any line indicating particular sympathy with the United States should be (avoided) *played down*.

c. The same section contains a phrase implying distrust of the West: it is stated that after the fall of the Soviet regime foreign powers will not be permitted to set up puppet Ukrainian governments as did the Nazis and Communists. The free world should be represented as sympathetic to Ukrainian national aspirations and in no wise interested in setting up new puppets.

d. CASSOWARIE 2 also suggests that the program should include advice on organizing partisan movements and committing sabotage. This raises the policy question of whether even a black radio should go so far at the present time.

e. It is stated that the radio should go into the question of future problems of a free Ukraine. This is both premature and would involve a waste of valuable time. It would also raise irrelevant and contentious questions. Part III also contains a phrase derogatory to the majority of the potential listeners: it states that the radio should attempt to regain the "Red Little Russian," Ukrainians who have been lost to the Soviet regime. As has been indicated above, it is these "Red Little Russians" who constitute the primary target. We should not attempt to antagonize our audience by the use of epithets directed against them. *Don't do it!*

11. Recommendations

It is the view of the undersigned that the policy paper of CASSOWARIE 2 is acceptable subject to the comments made above, and with the reservation that the phrasing be made more precise throughout and that Part III be completely reorganized.

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It is suggested that the following considerations be kept in mind during the taping of broadcasts and in preparing scripts:

1. Delivery

Speak slowly and distinctly

Vary your mood and style and tone in accordance with the content of the script

Don't be afraid of using rhetorical questions

Don't be afraid of expressing passion, humor or irony with your voice

2. Identity of Interests with the Audience

Never talk down to the audience

Always try to avoid referring to the audience as "you"

Speak of "our interests", "our country", "our suffering", etc.

3. Epithets and Threats

Avoid threatening the audience

Never use the script as a means of blowing off steam because of personal considerations

Hold out to the groups which are the mainstay of the regime and of the terror the prospect of redemption, of atoning for past misdeeds by constructive action

4. Repetition

Concentrate on the most important themes and repeat them broadcast after broadcast

Always remember that a substantial portion of the broadcasts will probably be jammed and that it will be necessary to repeat the most important ideas and the most effective scripts if they are to have their impact

5. Credibility

Select your facts to make your point and temper truth with discretion

Never forget, however, that the audience is composed of highly educated groups and never state a fact which can be disproved

6. Appeals to Specific Groups

In so far as possible address specific appeals to specific audience targets. A script directed toward army officers may be completely different from a script addressed to members of the MVD

7. Concrete Targets

Try to make your language as concrete and meaningful as possible. Say, for example, "bread and meat" instead of "food".

8. Brevity

Never have a feature talk which runs more than two typewritten pages double spaced. You must again face the fact of jamming and recognize that a portion of a specific feature may be jammed while another portion might come through in the clear. The point of long and involved talks might, therefore, be lost.

9. Number of themes in each item

Try to avoid orienting a specific talk or news item around several basic themes or points

10. Knowledge possessed by the Audience

When you present your ideas or facts, be sure the audience understands them. Don't assume that the Soviet audience possesses all the knowledge you have.

11. Propaganda of hatred

Never permit yourself to preach propaganda of national hatred. The enemy is the system.

12. Self-esteem of Audience

Always attempt to build up the self-esteem and self-respect of the target audience.

Show appreciation for their national, cultural and individual talents and accomplishments and sufferings and the difficulties under which they work.